1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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835 word of the crime and sent someone to investigate. Learning this, Abilio voluntarily
684 went to Belém to declare that he was the killer. His explanation that "they lived
648 like dogs" was no reason at all to the Neobrazilians, who did not understand it, so he returned home. A few days later the subprefect of police ordered his arrest; but after several days he was released, to the great satisfaction of the Indians of Tacana, who were said to have been determined to free him by force. As a matter
[732] of fact, after all this, Joaquim tauaru' did appear to me to be mentally unbalanced when I encountered him. The Indians said that he had already acquired the nature of a dog: one girl, who watched him from a hiding place, observed that he dug the earth with his fingernails like a dog!

Law

685 *Crimes.*—I have never heard of theft occurring among the compound families characteristic of Tukuna local groupings, but it does happen away from their confines, even among fellow tribesmen. The person robbed, eventually aided by his relatives, deals personally with the thief. Willful thieves cannot hope for very gentle treatment on the part of the victims. A certain nai'a'kị of Igarapé de Belém broke into a trunk during the owner's absence, stealing the contents, but was surprised and forced to return everything. Some time later he repeated the misdeed in another house, but not so cleverly as to avoid suspicion of robbery. Since nai'a obstinately refused to return his loot, the victim promptly shot him; but the wound was not fatal.

574 The great majority of crimes involving death or injury take place during the
674 work parties and celebrations, being due to drunkenness. As I have already indicated, they are almost always without a serious motive, simply because alcohol in certain Tukuna, arouses not the sexual instinct but the desire to quarrel, which is directed most of the time against their own relatives. A fight at Igarapé da Rita that ended with the death of one person and the wounding of two began with insults which an Indian for no apparent reason hurled at his father. Strangely numerous are the quarrels among drunken brothers-in-law. Could this be some a priori subconscious hostile feeling against the intrusion of another clan into the family? Moreover, in the language of the Guaraní, who have no such clan organization as the Tukuna, the word for brother-in-law, *tovayá* (*ra*), means also "competitor" and the verb *ahovayá* means "to be against."

672 In any case, as I have already explained, the Tukuna appear to consider drunk-
273 enness an extenuating circumstance, which absolves the criminal almost completely of responsibility. This point of view appears in the lack of concern about such incidents: "He was soused!" they say, and that is the end of it. Even a murdered man's own relatives, at first naturally enraged, gradually accept this point of view which they would never do if the crime were committed in cold blood.[*] However a certain aversion to the slayer always remains, and if he is so imprudent as to glory in the deed, the relatives of the victim may still have a sudden and violent reaction and seek revenge. It is, however, true that a killing by a drunken man will not per se provoke reprisal.

[*] See pp. 106 ff. for the story of the execution of an evil shaman.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.